

# ABOUT THE PHONOLOGICAL TYPOLOGY OF BURUSHASKI

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In connection with the subject of this article it is important to remind of the fact, that Burushaski is the most isolated language in the centre of a region characterized by a very high measure of linguistic diversity. The main source of information concerning Burushaski is a well-known description of D.L.R. Lorimer, as well as the texts gathered by him and a glossary.<sup>1</sup> The works of the authors writing about Burushaski are usually based just upon this stuff. Unfortunately not all the data known about this language are described in a satisfactory way. The information that can be got from the texts is sometimes insufficient and needs rather often additional interpretation. Therefore the only thing for those, who have no possibility to undertake a field-investigation of Burushaski, remains to work out more or less general schemes, and to offer them to the judgement of others, who can prove their trust-worthiness in field-conditions. It is clear that the studies of that kind are inevitably connected with a certain risk. Nevertheless they seem to be necessary for the solution of such problems as the definition of the place occupied by Burushaski if not in the genealogical classification, then at least in the typological scheme.

In this article some observations will be made concerning the phonological system of Burushaski together with considerations about the place occupied by this language among the other languages of this region.

In D.L.R. Lorimer's book phonetics has been described not completely enough. There are cases when the author hesitates himself about the solution of a certain question. In other cases the reader will not find sufficient grounds in the reported phonetic data to make clear ideas about the phonological structure of Burushaski. Basing upon D.L.R. Lorimer's description, upon the texts collected by him and by Siddheswar Varma,<sup>2</sup> upon more ancient records (Biddulph, Leinert, "Linguistic Survey of India," Vol. VIII etc.) and upon his own observations, G. Morgenshtern has made the first effort to describe the phonological system of Burushaski.<sup>3</sup> With a relative certainty he managed to prove the phonemic nature of the following sounds:

| CONSONANTS |    |   |   |   |    |          |   |  |  |  |  |
|------------|----|---|---|---|----|----------|---|--|--|--|--|
| q          | qh | g | ŋ | č | čh | j        | ʃ |  |  |  |  |
| k          | kh |   |   |   |    |          |   |  |  |  |  |
| t          | th | q |   | č | čh | j        | ʃ |  |  |  |  |
| t          | th | d | n | č | čh | ž (= *j) | s |  |  |  |  |
| p          | ph | b | m |   |    |          |   |  |  |  |  |
| r          | l  | y |   | y | v  | h        |   |  |  |  |  |

| VOWELS |   |   |   |  |   |   |   |   |  |
|--------|---|---|---|--|---|---|---|---|--|
| i      | e | o | u |  | i | ɛ | ɔ | ü |  |
|        | a |   |   |  |   | ɛ | ɔ |   |  |

These phonemes can be described in an economical way in terms of the distinctive features with the help of the following oppositions:

- 1. long / short, 2. aspirated / non-aspirated, 3. voiced / voiceless, 4. nasal / oral, 5. strident / mellow, 6. continuant / discontinuous, 7. cerebral / non-cerebral, 8. peripheral / medial, 9. compact / non-compact, 10. diffuse / non-diffuse, 11. consonantal / non-consonantal, 12. vocalic / non-vocalic.

The choice of these oppositions just in such an order is justified both by general considerations (see about them the other works of the author of these lines, and partly below) as well as by the fact, that there are descriptions of the languages of this region made in the same way. Therefore the phonological system of Burushaski can be compared with those of the neighbouring languages. The general scheme of the phonological tree of Burushaski is represented on the table 1.

This scheme of the phonological tree needs comments of two kinds.

First, there exists uncertainty concerning the *phonemic inventory*, and it would be difficult or even impossible to try to solve it only with the help of the available published texts. It is the more difficult, because the data of D.L.R. Lorimer and those of G. Morgenshtern sometimes contradict to each other. Among the dubious statements that need comments the following ones should be pointed out.

1) It is the postulate of the phonemic status of *y*, which is interpreted as a cerebral phoneme while *g*, *r* and *q* (cf. respectively *g*, *r* and *q*) are regarded as non-phonemes, their coming into existence being caused, as it is believed, by the presence of *y* (cf. *gyas* or *giyas* "infant", "baby"; *giyal* or *gyyal* "thin bread made from watery dough" and so on); although some exceptions seem also to exist, as on the one hand: *garey* or *tarey* "piebald, variegated in colour", *gayu* "the red-legged hill partridge", "chikor"; *rayum* "left (hand)", *rayu* or *rayu* "lame", "cripple"; *galy* "pebbles beside water-course", i.e., "strand" and others, and on the other hand: *giyas* "to throw down",

<sup>1</sup> See D.L.R. Lorimer, *The Burushaski Language*, Vol. 1-3, Oslo, 1935-1938; cf. also M.N. Zappal, *Берушаскее наречие канджитского языка*, Leningrad, 1927.

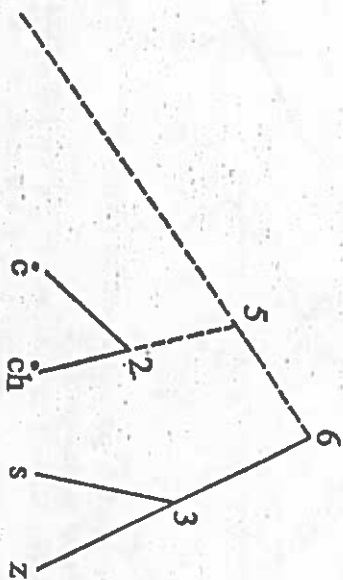
<sup>2</sup> See Siddheswar Varma, "Burushaski Texts" - *Indian Linguistics* 1, V-VI, pp. 6-32.

<sup>3</sup> See G. Morgenshtern, "Notes on Burushaski Phonology" - *NTS*, XIII 1945, pp. 61-95.

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<sup>4</sup> See D.L.R. Lorimer, *Op. cit.* 1, pp. 6-7; G. Morgenshtern, *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also the examples with *qh* and *y* being met in the same word: *ahyie* (*qat*) "pebble(s)",



and *j:ž* (see D.L.R. Lorimer. *Op. cit.* I, pp. 211 ff: Vocabulary).<sup>10</sup> Still it is impossible to take *ž* and *z* for independent phonemes. It is interesting that a likewise asymmetry of relations between *č*, *čh* and *z* (*= j*), on the one side, and *č*, *čh* and *j*, on the other, can be traced also in Kashmiri;<sup>11</sup> the next stage of development is represented in Shina, where there exist on the one hand, *č*, *čh*, *z* and, on the other hand, *č*, *čh*, *j*, *ž* and *z*.<sup>12</sup> The transition of the voiced affricate into the fricative, while the voiceless affricates are preserved, is rather a common feature, and it can be convincingly explained.<sup>13</sup> In Burushaski *z* can occupy the initial as well as the intermediate or final position (cf. *zay* "headache," *zar* "gold," *zor* "force," "violation," *zurzur*, *zurzur* "slight feeling of chill from fever," *arzar* "cheap," "plentiful," *mura*

<sup>10</sup> The same tendency is well known in the neighbouring Dardic languages. "The fluctuating nature of the opposition *j:ž* is one of the characteristic features of the Dardic languages; cf. the change *j>ž* in Dameli and Torwali (see G. Morgenstierne, "Notes on Dameli"—*NTS* XII, 1942, p. 121; G.A. Grierson, *Torwali, An Account of a Dardic Language of the Swat Kohistan*, London, 1929, p. 10), the interchange between *j* and *ž* in Phaltun in spite of their independent phonemic existence (see G. Morgenstierne, "Notes on Phaltun, an Unknown Dardic Language of Chitral"—*Schiffers wörterbuch der Nordost-Indischen Akademie*, II, *Festschrift*, 1940, N 5, Oslo, 1941, p. 12), the possibility to interpret *ž* as an allophone of *j* in Waigali (see G. Morgenstierne, "The Waigali Language"—*NTS* XVII, 1945, p. 159), almost complete loss of *j* in Shumashiti and the appearance of *ž* in its place (see G. Morgenstierne, "Notes on Shumashiti, a Dardic Dialect of the Gawar-Bati Type"—*NTS* XIII, 1954, p. 247) and so on. Some Dardic languages, by the way, preserve a more stable opposition *j:ž* (cf. Shina, Gawar-Bati, Bashkarti, Prasun, Ashtun, Fashal). The stage of development of the opposition *j:ž* represented in Dardic languages makes a transition from the situation in Iranian languages of the neighbouring area, where this opposition is retained (Tahlishi, Sanglichi, Shughni and Roshani, Walahi, Yidgha, Parachi, Ormuri, Pashto etc.) and that of Indo-Aryan languages, where this opposition does not exist because of the absence of *ž*; cf. by the way, Dumatli with its variation *j:ž* (see D.L.R. Lorimer. *The Dumatli Language*. Nijmegen, 1939, p. 23).

<sup>11</sup> See G. Morgenstierne, "The Phonology of Kashmiri,"—*Acta Orientalia*, Vol. 19, 1941, pp. 77 ff; *NTS* XIII, 1945, p. 66;

<sup>12</sup> In a different way T.G. Bailey, *Grammar of the Shina (Shin) language*, London, 1924; *The Sounds of Shina—Studies in North Indian Languages*, London, 1938; D.L.R. Lorimer "The Sounds of Shina"—*BOS* Vol. 3, 1928, p. 800.

<sup>13</sup> See N. S. "The distribution of the mi-occlusives dependent from the mi-occlusives"—*Acta Orientalia*.

*mura* "long boots," *mijaz* "temperament," "nature," *mi'z* "viable," *arz* "representation," "statement," "petition" and so on; cf. also pairs like *zui* "searching"; *jui* "pus," *zara* "power," "strength"; *jar* "to me," *zina* "formation," "adultery," *ji'no* "living alive" etc.

3) Agreeing with G. Morgenstierne upon the fact that "*j*" can hardly be considered to be a separate phoneme in Bur." (*Op. cit.*, p. 65), it is reasonable nevertheless to connect the final solution of this problem (only the peripheral fragment of the system is naturally meant here) with the statistic correlation of two opposite processes. The first one is the transition *ph>j* (through the *pf* stage) and the acceptance of new loan-words with *j* which does not undergo any substitution. The second one is the substitution of *f* and even of *p* through *ph* in foreign loan-words (cp. *farangi>phalangi* "syphilitic," *mura/jar>mura/phar* "traveller"; *phulis* "policeman" etc.). The situation is the more difficult, because there are such minimum pairs as *far'ol* "omen"; *phal* "grain." The same seems to be the situation with *x* in those cases, when it is not a variant of *gh*, but forms a part of a loan-word. The difficulty is quite a different one, it consists in the contradictory information about *x*. G. Morgenstierne characterizes this sound as a "postvelar fricative," while D.L.R. Lorimer interprets *x* (and *r*) as "voiceless (and voiced) spirant(s) corresponding to *k* (and *g*)." According to the viewpoint *x* and *r* might be interpreted as continuant phonemes (voiceless and voiced) either of the postvelar or of the velar series. Unfortunately the information about *h* is rather vague (it is possible that it should be interpreted outside the class of the consonantal and non-vocalic phonemes).

4) It is not excluded that *ε* and *ɔ* should be counted in the vocalic phonemes; cf., for instance, *ε'i* "my son" (<\**a*+*i*): *ε'i* "his daughter" (<\**i*+*ai*). In that case *ε: ε'*, *ɔ: ɔ'* would be opposed as tense vs. lax.

5) It is very interesting that in Burushaski the cases of fluctuation and confusion of phonemes and their classes are very frequent not only in loan-words, but in indigenous words as well. Beside the above mentioned cases one can find in the vocabulary many examples of confusion of aspirated and non-aspirated, cerebral and non-cerebral, post-velar and velar, *n* and *ŋ*, *l* and *r* etc. At the same time it is relevant for a number of phonemes that their distributive abilities are rather limited (cf., for instance, the prohibition to be in a final or even in an intermediate position for some of these phonemes as well as relevant differences between the noun and the verb in the structure of the phonemic inventory etc.).

Secondly, there are different possibilities to describe a given inventory of phonemes with the help of distinctive features. For instance, the first stage of differentiation should be that of voiced *v̄*, "voiceless", and only after that of aspirated *v̄*: non-*v̄*.

<sup>14</sup> A similar distribution exists in Werchikwa. See D.L.R. Lorimer, *Werchikwa-English Vocabulary*.



South-East, cf. Yaghnobi—35,<sup>19</sup> Yidgha—31,<sup>20</sup> Wakhi—30,<sup>21</sup> Shina—33,<sup>22</sup> Balti—35<sup>23</sup> etc. Out of the languages situated on the continuation of this region to the North-West only Yaghnobi possesses 35 phonemes of the class C; this region is extended in the South-East by the Tibetan dialects which usually possess more than 30 phonemes of this class. Out of the other languages belonging to this region one should mention Ishkashmi-Sanglechi (26 phonemes), the Shughni-Roshani dialects and the Sarikoli language (25 phonemes). The bulk of the Dardic languages belongs to the South and South-West from this region. There the number of the phonemes of the class C as a rule is less than 30; cf. Phalūra—29, Dameli—28, Bashkark—26, Ashkun, Waigali and Shumashti—23, Prasun—21 and so on.<sup>24</sup> The exceptions are rare: beside Shina (33) cf. also Gavar-Bati—31 and Pashai—34,<sup>25</sup> as for Kashmiri the number of its consonantal phonemes changes greatly according to the interpretation of the *mātrā* vowels.<sup>26</sup> Farther to the South-West in the region of the West-Iranian languages (Pashto, Persian, Parachi, Ormuri, Balochi) the number of the phonemes of the class C does not exceed 30. The increase of this number begins only in Sindhi, where there are 36 phonemes of this class. The rest of the Indo-Aryan languages are characterized by the situation, when the number of phonemes does not exceed 30, and it decreases evidently in the directions to the East and South-East, cf. Marathi—30, Gujarati and Hindi—29, Nepali—28, Oriya and Bengali—25, Assamese—19, Sinhalese—15.<sup>27</sup> The same tendency is manifested even more clearly in some Non-Indo-Aryan languages; there such cases are not rare, when the 20 (cf. Tamil, Boro, Khasi, Mon<sup>28</sup> etc.). Nevertheless there are also exceptions, cf. Nahali, where there seem to be 40 phonemes of

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Д. И. Эдельман, *Разузьянский язык*, Moscow, 1966, p. 14 ff. (including as separate phonemes the clicking affricated plosive C and the pharyngeal h); cf. also В. С. Соколова, *Очерки по фонетике иранских языков*, II, Moscow-Leningrad, 1953, pp. 193–195.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, Vol. II, Oslo, 1938, p. 28 ff. (one should keep in mind that *l*, *d*, *ḡ*, *ḡ*, *ḡ* are met only in Yidgha, while *ḡ* exists only in Muzhi; *x*, *ṣ* and *ḡ* are variants and not independent phonemes).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. G. Morgenstierne, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 443 ff. (such infrequent phonemes as *j*, *θ* are also included here). The system of consonantal phonemes, which can be restored with a certain probability on the basis of the description of Wakhi by D. L. R. Lorimer, would possibly differ only in details. See D. L. R. Lorimer, *The Wakhi Language*, Vol. 1, London, 1958, p. 12 ff.

<sup>22</sup> See the above mentioned works by T. G. Bailey and also В. Н. Топоров, *Предварительные материалы*, pp. 183–183.

<sup>23</sup> This Tibetan dialect situated in Balistan, in the extreme West of the Tibetan plateau, was described in the book by A. F. C. Read, *Balti Grammar*, London, 1934. Unfortunately, the phonetic description is reduced to a minimum in this book.

<sup>24</sup> See В. Н. Топоров, *Предварительные материалы*.

<sup>25</sup> See G. Morgenstierne, *The Pashai Language*, Vol. I, Oslo, 1961.

<sup>26</sup> See В. Н. Топоров, "Фонетическая интерпретация консонантизма в кашмирском" and especially Б. А. Захарин, *Кашмир: фонетика и фонология, текст и система*,—"Народы Азии и Африки", 1962, N 3; Фонологическая структура языка кашмирского, Москва, 1968 (авторский диссертации).

<sup>27</sup> See Т. У. Елизаркова, "Concerning the Phonological Typology of Some New-Indo-Aryan Languages"—*XIV International Congress of Orientalists*, Moscow, 1963.

<sup>28</sup> See H.-J. Pinnow, *Versuch einer historischen Lautlehre der Khasi-Sprache*, Wiesbaden, 1959 pp. 51–52; P. Ch. Bhattacharya, *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. 17, 1957; L. Rabel, *Khasi, a Language of Assam*, Louisiana University Press 1961, p. 2, ff., etc.

the class C.<sup>29</sup>

The existence of the opposition aspirated vs. non-aspirated seems to be a feature characteristic of a number of languages belonging to the "Central-Asiatic linguistic area." Burushaski also partakes of this feature, 8 pairs of phonemes being differentiated by means of it in this language. In the most part of the Dardic languages this feature is a relevant one—in Dameli and Shina for 7 pairs of phonemes, in Bashkark, Gavar-Bati and Kashmiri (in its minimum variant of description) for 6 pairs,<sup>30</sup> in Shumashti for 4 pairs. If there exist also voiced aspirates in Gavar-Bati, the distinctive feature of aspiration serves to differentiate in this language members of 10 pairs of phonemes<sup>31</sup> (and of 7 pairs in Phalūra, if in general aspirated phonemes exist there—G. Morgenstierne avoids to express his opinion clearly about it). Only the Dardic languages of the South-West outlying districts have completely lost this opposition (it is absent in Ashkun, Prasun and Waigali). One should notice that out of the Iranian languages occupying the area adjacent to that of the Dardic languages this opposition seems to be relevant only in Parachi (cf. *k*:*kh*, *g*:*gh*, *ṣ*:*ṣh*, *t*:*th*, *d*:*dh*, *p*:*ph*, *b*:*bh*).<sup>32</sup> But it is widely spread all over the Indo-Aryan area (except in Sinhalese): in Bengali, Oriya, Nepali, Hindi, Marathi and Sindhi it serves to differentiate the phonemes of 10 pairs. At the same time one should bear in mind that phonemes outside the class C can also be distinguished by means of this feature, cf. *l*:*lh*, *r*:*rh*, and also such unusual for the class C pairs as *n*:*nh*, *ṣ*:*ṣh*, *m*:*mh*. A similar situation can be found in Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam, Kharīa, Mundari, Santali, Kurku, Nahali, etc. The aspirated vs. non-aspirated variant of this opposition disappears farther to the South-East: it is missing already in Tamil, Sora, Mon, Khmer.<sup>33</sup> But the same opposition aspirated vs. non-aspirated is well known in the Tibetan dialects covering a broad region to the East from the Burushaski area.<sup>34</sup> The opposition tense vs. lax in those languages where the opposition voiced vs. voiceless is distorted is of another kind, cf., for instance, the Ishkashmi language where for a number of reasons the opposition of voiced sounds to the voiceless ones might be interpreted as that of lax vs. tense (i.e., *d*:*t* > *t*:*th*),<sup>35</sup> the

<sup>29</sup> See H.-J. Pinnow, *Op. cit.*, p. 45 ff. also F. B. J. Kuiper, *Nahali, A Comparative Study*, Amsterdam, 1962. Cf. also H. Sh. Biligin, *Kharīa, Phonology, Grammar and Vocabulary*, Poona, 1965, p. 1 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. the maximum variant of Kashmiri—*k*:*kh*, *k'*:*kh'*, *ṣ*:*ṣh*, *t*:*th*, *t'*:*th'*, *r*:*rh*, *r'*:*rh'*, *d*:*dh*, *c*:*ch*, *c'*:*ch'*, *p*:*ph*, *p'*:*ph'*.

<sup>31</sup> The pairs *t*:*th*, *d*:*dh*, *c*:*ch*, *b*:*bh*, *ṣ*:*ṣh*, *k*:*kh*, *g*:*gh*, *t'*:*th'*, *r*:*rh*, *r'*:*rh'*, *d'*:*dh'*, *c'*:*ch'*, *p*:*ph*, *p'*:*ph'* are meant here. See G. Morgenstierne, "Notes on Gavar-Bati"—*Skrifter utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*, II *Hitt*—*Filos. Klasse*, 1950, N 1, pp. 7–8.

<sup>32</sup> See G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, Vol. I.

<sup>33</sup> In a number of cases *th* and the rest are treated in a poliphonemic way, as, for instance, in Sileng, Chuau, Sec, etc. See H.-J. Pinnow, *Op. cit.*, pp. 60–61.

<sup>34</sup> See A. F. C. Read, *Op. cit.*; G. de Roerich, *Tibetica, I, Dialects of Tibet, The Tibetan Dialect of Ladak*, Calcutta, 1933; *Le parler de l'Ando*, Roma, 1958; R. A. Miller, "Studies in Spoken Tibetan, I"—*JAO* Vol. 75, 1955, p. 46 ff.; E. Richter, *Grundlagen der Phonetik des Uraso-Dialektes*, Berlin, 1964 etc.

<sup>35</sup> See Т. Н. Павловича, *Индийский язык*, Moscow, 1959, p. 31, ff.



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Studies in Burushaski Dialectology. 472

By SIDDHESHWAR VARMA.

(Communicated by Dr. S. K. Chatterji)

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In his stimulating article on 'A Burushaski Text from Hunza' (BSOS, Vol. IV, Part III, pp. 505-31), Lt.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer observes that the question whether the dialects spoken in Hunza and Nagar can be justly called separate dialects is one 'that requires further investigation' (p. 509).

This 'further investigation' was undertaken by the present writer. The results of his investigations, detailed in this paper, are as follows:—

- (1) The dialects of Hunza and Nagar are not separate, but closely allied.
- (2) The differences between them, however, are not 'superficial', but are historically important.
- (3) Phonologically and grammatically, the Nagar dialect preserves forms which are the relics of an older dialect, but in vocabulary, this dialect shows close contact with Shina, the vocabulary of Hunza showing fewer traces of Indo-European borrowings.
- (4) In order to reconstruct a comparatively primitive *gemein-Burushaski*, we therefore require the phonological and grammatical forms of Nagar, and the vocabulary of Hunza.

We shall now describe the distinctive features of Nagar and Hunza in Phonetics, Grammar and Vocabulary.

The following abbreviations may be noted:—Hu. = Hunza, N. = Nagar, Sh. = Shina, n. = neuter gender, ag. = active-animate gender.

I. PHONETICS.

The symbols of the *International Phonetic Association* have been used throughout the treatise. Of these symbols, the following may be particularly noted:—

ə sounds like e in English 'bed', but is closer.  
e sounds somewhat like French e, but not so close.

The high-falling tone as in i 'he himself' and the low-rising tone as in ji 'his son' are marked as usual.



t and d are retroflex consonants, and are separate phonemes (cf. my article on *Burushaski Texts* in 'Indian Linguistics', Vol. I, parts V-VI, p. 11).

The phoneme g, a velar voiced fricative, has a large number of subordinate members, which vary according to position and with different speakers. Of these subordinate members, the following two may be mentioned:—

A uvular g, but more or less fricative (narrow transcription g) is often heard in the beginning of a word, as in Hu. gjon (broad transcription gjon) 'melon', N. gjam.

Much more striking is a r-like sound, transcribed here as j, pronounced much like the American r = j, but often more like j. The interchange of g with r-like sounds has been noted by Jespersen (*Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, 4th Edition, pp. 49-50).

Generally speaking. The sound at the end must be j. Cf. g can never end a word.

b'al 'millet'.  
d'al 'fattened'.  
l'al 'cucumber'.

I can never begin a word. The sound in the beginning must be g or q, which varies with individual speakers. Both the sounds g and j are distinctly heard in the following:—

din'e'galas 'to itch'.  
gar'lo 'the bird called "Moa" in English'.  
shily'urum'e'tas 'to dilute or soften'.  
il'tagates 'to plaster a house with mud'.  
gelu 'lame' but cf. gelu 'partridge'.

Another striking feature of this j is that it is much less voiced than g; sometimes it is heard like a devoiced g.

g' is an ejective recursive; it is accompanied with glottal closure, emission of breath with vibration (giving one the impression of an affricate or an 'incipient' fricative), and often low tone of the succeeding vowel. Cf.

g'i'ako 'Kashmir'.  
g'i'alt 'ladle'.  
g'ies 'to put in, insert, enter'.

#### (1) Contractions in Hunza.

The phonetic system of Hunza indicates it to be pre-eminently a dialect of contractions, and shows that Nagari has

preserved the relics of older forms. Cf. the following forms of the verb *g'es* 'to do' in the Present Indefinite tense:—

| N.          |            | Hu.        |  |
|-------------|------------|------------|--|
| 'I do'      | je 'g'aba  | je 'g'aba  |  |
| 'thou dost' | um 'g'aba  | uj 'g'ca   |  |
| 'he does'   | me 'g'abei | 'me g'c'ai |  |
| 'we do'     | mi 'g'aban | mi 'g'aban |  |
| 'you do'    | ma 'g'uban | ma g'can   |  |
| 'they do'   | u 'g'uban  | u g'can    |  |

Cf. also Past Continuous:—

| N.                      |              | Hu.          |  |
|-------------------------|--------------|--------------|--|
| 'I had been doing'      | ja 'g'abajem | ja 'g'abajem |  |
| 'thou hadst been doing' | 'ume 'g'ubam | 'uge g'cam   |  |
| 'he had been doing'     | 'me 'g'ubam  | 'me g'cam    |  |
| 'we had been doing'     | mi 'g'abam   | mi 'g'abam   |  |
| 'you had been doing'    | ma 'g'ubam   | ma g'cam     |  |
| 'they had been doing'   | u 'g'ubam    | u g'cam      |  |

This syncope in Hunza gives a diversity of meaning with diversity of stress-accent. Cf.

| Hu.                 |         | N.      |  |
|---------------------|---------|---------|--|
| 'I shall do'        | 'ecem   | 'ecem   |  |
| 'he had been doing' | g'cam   | 'g'ubam |  |
| 'I brought'         | 'd'cam  | 'd'cam  |  |
| 'he had brought'    | du'cam  | 'd'ubam |  |
| 'I did'             | 'g'cam  | 'g'cam  |  |
| 'he had done'       | g'cam   | 'g'ubam |  |
| 'I cooked'          | d'g'cam | d'g'cam |  |
| 'he had cooked'     | d'g'cam | d'g'cam |  |

There is a similar syncope in the Neuter Pres. Indef. tense:—

| N.         |           | Hu.     |  |
|------------|-----------|---------|--|
| 'it comes' | 'jucib'la | 'jucila |  |

Compare the following examples of syncope:—

| N.       |                          | Hu.    |  |
|----------|--------------------------|--------|--|
| gaur'a   | 'a cradle'               | gajura |  |
| 'ulum ba | 'inner apartment'        | 'ula   |  |
| dus't    | 'bring'                  | s'u    |  |
| kyjiki   | 'name of a bird of prey' | kiki   |  |

| N.          |  | Hu.          |
|-------------|--|--------------|
| shchshlētās | 'to entirely screen from view'               | 'shchshlētās |
| nēs         | 'having seen'                                | nisen        |
| nu'hulja    | 'having mounted'                             | nulja        |
| 'shgur      | 'a she-goat'                                 | shjyr        |
| ōlēik       | 'both of them'                               | ōlēik        |
| cīlto       | 'the third day after the day-after-tomorrow' | cīlto        |
| muysm'daro  | 'our wives'                                  | mijsm'daro   |
| e'manṣa     | 'I may be'                                   | emāṣa        |
| gu'manṣ     | 'thou mayest be'                             | gu'māṣ       |
| dēlga       | 'I may beat'                                 | dēlṣ         |
| dēlṣ        | 'thou mayest beat'                           | dēlṣ         |
| brum (aṣ)   | 'they were'                                  | brm          |

Of particular interest are the Hunza contractions in *Negation*, which will be discussed under Grammar. In N. the uniform prefix for Negation is *au-*, in Hu. this *au-* has undergone many complicated changes. Cf.

| N.           |                  | Hu.         |
|--------------|------------------|-------------|
| 'aud'ae'lām  | 'I did not hear' | e'ajelām    |
| 'aujeṣam     | 'I did not see'  | 'eṣam       |
| 'aujeṣaba    | 'I do not see'   | 'eṣaba      |
| 'audakōjel   | 'do not listen'  | e'tukujel   |
| 'auju        | 'do not give'    | eu          |
| 'auṣi        | 'do not eat'     | 'eṣi        |
| 'auṣi        | 'do not go'      | ojni        |
| aujo'goibām  | 'would not give' | ej.guibām   |
| auwāqholjibi | 'does not pain'  | 'ajāquljibi |

*Vowels.*

Parallel to this tendency to contractions, Hunza vowels show monophthongs where Nagari has diphthongs. Cf.

| N.      |              | Hu.     |
|---------|--------------|---------|
| teḷier  | 'thither'    | tejer   |
| 'teḷium | 'from there' | tejlium |
| targēi  | 'a wave'     | taregej |
| grūskus | 'widow'      | gē.skus |
| aujer   | 'my husband' | ojer    |
| 'auji   | 'my dream'   | ojji    |

| N.      |                        | Hu.    |
|---------|------------------------|--------|
| 'aulus  | 'my (woman's) brother' | ojlus  |
| 'aumus  | 'tears' (from eyes)    | ojmus  |
| 'aumus  | 'tongue'               | ojmus  |
| 'auri   | 'nail' (of finger)     | ojri   |
| aus     | 'my wife'              | ojs    |
| 'auris  | 'my foot'              | ojtis  |
| 'aufo   | 'guest'                | ojfo   |
| daujn   | 'scarf'                | dajn   |
| gaujn   | 'melon'                | gojn   |
| thaujn  | 'fresh coriander'      | thojn  |
| gaujies | 'to pick up'           | gojies |
| jauj    | 'give to me'           | joj    |

Some of the examples of this Hu. monophthongization in Negation have been already given. Cf.

| N.       |                | Hu.    |
|----------|----------------|--------|
| ausen    | 'do not speak' | ojsen  |
| 'auṣṣaba | 'I do not eat' | ojṣaba |

Absence of nasality in some of the Hunza words is another distinctive feature of the dialect. Whether it is a case of denasalization in Hu., it is difficult to say. Cf.

| N.     |           | Hu.  |
|--------|-----------|------|
| hēs    | 'a sigh'  | hiṣ  |
| mōṣṣ   | 'massage' | mōṣṣ |
| ph'ṣgo | 'hollow'  | phus |

A number of words in N. has a final -u where Hu. has O. Cf.

| N.      |                      | Hu.      |
|---------|----------------------|----------|
| 'acu    | 'my brother'         | 'aṣo     |
| 'hupulu | 'day after tomorrow' | 'hupulto |
| 'hunzu  | 'Hunza'              | 'hunzo   |
| khultu  | 'to-day'             | khultō   |
| mytu    | 'now'                | myto     |
| 'ṣukru  | 'Friday'             | 'ṣukro   |
| -ulu    | 'in'                 | -ulo     |
| 'digu   | 'bring'              | 'dico    |
| 'ṣeu    | 'tell'               | 'ṣeo     |

This tendency to final -u in N. finds a parallel in Shina. Cf.

|     |      |                  |        |       |
|-----|------|------------------|--------|-------|
| Sh. | matu | 'brain'          | N. Hu. | 'mato |
|     | dulu | 'string'         |        |       |
|     | danu | 'bow for arrows' |        |       |

In many instances, especially in unstressed position, N. has the vowel *o* where Hu. shows *u*. Even this variation may be a historical weakening in the case of Hu. *u*. Cf.

| N.        |  | Hu.       |
|-----------|--|-----------|
| dogoi     | 'noon'   | dugui     |
| dorò      | 'work'   | durò      |
| mo'not    | 'a child insured against a fall by animal sacrifice' | manut     |
| gas'ki    | 'freshly kneaded dough'                              | gus'ki    |
| 'loté'tas | 'to frown'   | 'lute'tas |
| fon       | 'blind'  | fun       |

(In N. *fun* means 'vine')

The following vowel-correspondences, not yet confirmed by a sufficient number of examples to show any tendencies in the dialects, may be of value for future research:—

| N.                  |   | Hu.           |
|---------------------|---|---------------|
| je't                | 'hour-mill'                               | ja't          |
| 'ze'ileka           | 'to walk well'                            | z a i l e k a |
| gu'shars            |   | gu'shars      |
| ma'jut              | 'mosque'                                  | ma'jit        |
| gu'tres             | 'dung'                                    | gu'tras       |
| (r'qhat) 'thaqé'tas | 'to smack the lips' (at a pleasant taste) | 'thaqé'tas    |
| dognas              | 'to catch'                                | dognas        |
| 'gari               | 'eyeball'                                 | gə'ri         |
| əje                 | 'beard'                                   | əji           |
| bə'urum             | 'how much'                                | bə'urum       |
| ca'qarfo            | 'pus from the eyes'                       | ca'qarfo      |

### Consonants.

For a medial aspirated plosive in N., Hu. has generally a non-aspirated plosive, and in the light of the above-mentioned facts, it may be probably a case of deaspiration, and therefore a later stage, in the case of Hunza plosives. Cf.

### N.

### Hu.

|                          |   |              |
|--------------------------|---|--------------|
| 'althar                  | 'twenty'                                  | 'althar      |
| 'bachin                  | 'leg'                                     | 'bachin      |
| 'əphat                   | 'side'                                    | 'əpat        |
| k h ə 'k h a c i         | 'to stutker'                              | g ə 'k a o i |
| manas                    |   | manas        |
| jatthel                  | 'deer'                                    | jattel       |
| 'lotthur                 | 'bell'                                    | 'lotthur     |
| mop'ner                  | 'old person'                              | mop'ner      |
| 'dəcənās                 | 'to require'                              | 'dəcənās     |
| dəcəthras                | 'to cook'                                 | dəcəthras    |
| dəcias                   | 'to press, to be sullen'                  | dəcias       |
| 'dəcqbulanas             | 'to knead'                                | 'dəcqbulanas |
| d'e.machelas             | 'to yawn'                                 | d'e.machelas |
| 'dischignas              | 'to hang'                                 | 'dischignas  |
| dikhetas                 | 'to be entangled'                         | dikhetas     |
| 'dunchras                | 'to spread' (as a carpet)                 | 'dunchras    |
| 'diphrcas                | 'to be uprooted'                          | 'diphrcas    |
| 'dithalas                | 'to wake'                                 | 'dithalas    |
| du'kukkuvtas             | 'to become lean'                          | du'kukkuvtas |
| 'eltalanas               | 'to turn the side of bread' (in baking)   | 'eltalanas   |
| ə'pplionas               | 'to flatter'                              | ə'pplionas   |
| 'əcias                   | 'to press'                                | 'əcias       |
| əsthejas                 | 'to extinguish'                           | 'əsthejas    |
| 'e.thras                 | 'to show'                                 | 'e.ltras     |
| jil'khnas                | 'to beseech'                              | jil'khnas    |
| khukhōras                | 'to plane, prepare' (as an axle of wheel) | khukhōras    |
| 'e.gusharas              | 'to make one go'                          | 'e.gu'saras  |
| ə'e.phnas                | 'to irritate'                             | ə'e.ponās    |
| 'e.abumi                 | 'sent'                                    | 'e.sumi      |
| 'e.lkhnas                | 'to teach'                                | 'e.lkhnas    |
| (Negation) 'auna'kharang | 'do not delay'                            | ə'makərgung  |
| (conj. part.) 'uchi      | 'having-given'                            | 'uern        |
| (conj. part.) nu'kushar  | 'having gone'                             | nu'kushar    |

In the beginning of words, however, Hunza seems to have a greater tendency for aspirated consonants in loan-words. Cf.



| Hu.     | N.     |
|---------|--------|
| 'pheyda | 'peida |
| 'phuls  | 'puls  |
| khōy    | kōy    |

The reverse phenomenon may be noticed in the following words. It is not known whether these words are loans. Cf.

| Hu.       | N.                     |
|-----------|------------------------|
| qa'teṇṇ   | 'sword'                |
| ta'tṇ     | 'vessel to churn milk' |
| śakoṃeṇas | 'lean against or upon' |

Perhaps the above differences are only local—a matter for future investigation.

Immediately after the *negative* prefix, the voiced consonant in Hu. is invariably devoiced, in N. it remains intact. Cf.

| N.         | Hu.                   |
|------------|-----------------------|
| auṇ        | 'do not come'         |
| 'aubel     | 'do not wear'         |
| 'audimi    | 'he did not come'     |
| 'audukoma  | 'thou didst not come' |
| 'audukōgas | 'do not laugh'        |
| 'augaribi  | 'does not ring'       |
| 'augasagan | 'they may not laugh'  |

The above variations in negation are historically important taking us to the apparently earlier forms in N.

There occurs in N. a curious divergence from Hu. It consists in the absence of an intervocalic ṇ, which Hunza has. But in the case of N., it may or may not be a reverse case of syncope. It may indicate the greater aversion of Hu. to pure nasalization. Cf.

| N.        | Hu.                 |
|-----------|---------------------|
| jēṭmug    | 'flour-mills'       |
| (sg. jēṭ) | jaṭmug              |
| hul       | 'doors'             |
| khav      | 'sides of the face' |
| ru'ane    | 'pasture-lands'     |
| gufjans   | 'women'             |
| trōjo     | 'eggs'              |

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## STUDIES IN BURUSHASKI DIALECTOLOGY

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The following variations among the final nasals may be noted:—

| N.       | Hu.        |
|----------|------------|
| um       | 'thou'     |
| ḍum      | 'a little' |
| but phin | 'foam'     |

In the following words an initial g in N. corresponds to k in Hu., while a medial g corresponds to q:—

| N.                       | Hu.  |
|--------------------------|--|
| garūto                   | 'the bird called "Moa" in English'         |
| gu'tul                   | 'a large wooden basket plastered with mud' |
| but ga'teṇṇ <sup>1</sup> | 'sword'                                    |
| or qhāt'eṇṇ              |  |
| 'diseignas               | 'to hang'                                  |
| śa-a-ichōgortṇ           | 'twilight'                                 |
| 'ecogun                  | 'younger'                                  |
| 'augasagan <sup>2</sup>  | 'they may not laugh'                       |
| 'augaribi                | 'does not ring'                            |

In the following examples, a final s in N. corresponds to a s in H., while a medial s corresponds to t:—

| N.        | Hu.              |
|-----------|------------------|
| 'garkas   | 'lizard'         |
| balas     | 'bird'           |
| but al'as | 'two' (aa.)      |
| 'dēscolas | 'to awaken'      |
| gyasa     | 'leavened bread' |
| dēscolas  | 'to support'     |

The following variations cannot, for the present, establish any general result. They may be mere local variations. But the collection of the material may be of ultimate bearing on dialectical geography.

<sup>1</sup> This word has many pronunciations. It may be a loan-word.  
<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 140.

| N.       |          | Hu.     |  |
|----------|----------|---------|--|
| 'gurɣus  | 'breeze' | 'gurɣus |  |
| ki'tap   | 'book'   | gi'tap  |  |
| qha'qhas | 'paper'  | ga'kas  |  |
| keɣas    | 'cotton' | gu'pas  |  |

We have N. l = Hu. r in

| N.               |                         | Hu.          |  |
|------------------|-------------------------|--------------|--|
| ʃal              | 'a pit'                 | sar          |  |
| ɖaɲ leʃhas       | 'female goblin'         | ɖaɲ reʃhas   |  |
| br'laɣo          | 'colt'                  | br'laɣo      |  |
| but tur biʃ aʃes | 'to break into a house' | tul biʃ aʃes |  |

In the following two examples l is lost before a plosive in N. :—

| N.        |            | Hu.       |  |
|-----------|------------|-----------|--|
| ʔe.thɪras | 'to show'  | ʔe.lɪtras |  |
| dɛʃaɖa    | 'I strike' | dɛʃɪaɖa   |  |

N. ʃ corresponds to Hu. s in the following :—

| N.    |        | Hu.     |                |
|-------|--------|---------|----------------|
| ʔaskɪ | 'face' | ʔaskɪ   |                |
| mas   | 'food' | mas     |                |
| bɛʃen | 'what' | bɛʃɪkan | 'of what kind' |

N. m corresponds to Hu. b in the following :—

| N.                |                                     | Hu.       |  |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------|--|
| mʌn ɛ'tas         | 'to kiss'                           | bʌn ɛ'tas |  |
| maskeij           | 'name of a grass fatal to cattle'   | bʌn ɛ'tas |  |
| 'muns             | 'ball of dough'                     | 'bons     |  |
| 'munte            | 'on reaching'                       | 'mbate    |  |
| m = p in miɟɛ:tes | 'to make a "pu" sound with the lips | piɟɛ:tes  |  |

Most doubtful is the value of the following consonantal alternations, which I have noticed either in isolated instances or in conflicting forms :—

| N.      |           | Hu.     |  |
|---------|-----------|---------|--|
| biɾɟako | 'red' pl. | baɾɟuko |  |
| piɖ     | 'a nit'   | ɖiki    |  |

| N.           |   | Hu.   |                   |
|--------------|---|---|-------------------|
| ʃɪ'kan       | 'patches of the rough shoe called tã'us'          | ɕɪ'kan  |                   |
| mut          | 'fast'  | muɕ   |                   |
| 'ɖapa        | 'bundle'  | 'ɖapa   |                   |
| ʃaɖ'jaɾɛ'tas | 'to worry'  | ʃaɖ'jaɾɛ'tas                                  |                   |
| dɛ:salas     | 'to vilify'                                       | dɛ:salas                                      |                   |
| ɔv'kaɲ       | 'lavatory'  | ju'kaɲ  |                   |
| 'papalas     | 'to seethe or boil'                               | bapalas                                       | 'to be invisible' |
| phaltɔɕ      | 'strip of cloth to wrap round the legs in winter' | 'phalti (perhaps a loan-word from Indo-Aryan) |                   |
| theɾk        | 'dirt'  | theɾ  |                   |
| brɪn         | 'rice'  | bras  |                   |
| Sh. brɪn     |   |   |                   |
| de'taɣar     | 'fever'   | tɔ'taɣar                                      |                   |
| diʃa         | 'is'  | biʃa  |                   |

II. GRAMMAR.

Nominal declension.

While conjugation in Burushaski Grammar is very complicated, nominal declension is very simple. Cases are generally formed by the addition of post-positions.

The only cases which are declined are the genitive and the agent cases, both of which end in e. A sentence like

batiʃa wazir ʔe.rimi

'The king sent the Wazir' reminds one of the simplicity of English Grammar.<sup>1</sup>

Nominal declension does not present any striking variations between the two dialects. In plural formation the differences noted are only phonetic. Cf.

| N.                                   |             | Hu.        |  |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|------------|--|
| Sg. ɣus, pl. ɣuʃɪaɲs <sup>2</sup>    | 'women'     | ɣuʃɪaɲs    |  |
| Sg. aɟs, pl. miɟsm'daro <sup>3</sup> | 'our wives' | miɟsm'daro |  |
| (Hu. ɔɟs)                            |             |            |  |
| Sg. iʃ, pl. iʃɪua                    | 'sons'      | ju         |  |

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my article on Burushaski Texts in *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. I, part 3, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 140.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 140.

*Pronouns.*

In the forms of the pronouns there is considerable phonetic diversity. Cf.

*N.*

*Hu.*

|                 |                              |                |
|-----------------|------------------------------|----------------|
| um              |                              |                |
| 'khute, n.      | 'this' (near)                | un, uŋ         |
| 'khuke, n. pl.  | 'these' (near)               | 'gute, n.      |
| 'khuse, aa.     | 'this' (near)                | 'guke, n. pl.  |
| 'khuse, aa. pl. | 'these' (near)               | 'guse, n.      |
| 'ete, n.        | 'that' or 'this' (distant)   | 'guse, aa. pl. |
| 'eke, n. pl.    | 'those' or 'these' (distant) | 'ite, n.       |
| 'ese, aa.       | 'that' or 'this' (distant)   | 'ike, n. pl.   |
| 'ese, aa. pl.   | 'those' or 'these' (distant) | 'ise, aa.      |
|                 |                              | 'ise, aa.      |

*Verb*

In the verb, the verb substantive (with its forms as auxiliary), negation, and the conjunctive participle present notable variations.

In the verb substantive diversity exists in the forms of the n. sg. and aa. pl. Cf.

*N.*

*Hu.*

|                  |                |                 |
|------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| di'a             | 'is'           | bu'a            |
| di'lum           | 'was'          | br'lum          |
| bi'o, aa. pl.    | 'are'          | br'en } aa. pl. |
|                  |                | or bie          |
| brum, aa. pl.    | 'were'         | brm             |
| umaimio, aa. pl. | 'they will be' | umaim'en }      |
|                  |                | or umaim'e }    |

The combination of the verb substantive as auxiliary with other verbs (so aa. to form the various tenses) leads to contractions in Hunza, which have been already described above (p. 135). Cf.

*N.*

*Hu.*

|         |                     |        |
|---------|---------------------|--------|
| 'geuba  | 'thou dost'         | ge'ca  |
| 'geubam | 'he had done'       | ge'tam |
| 'geubam | 'he had been doing' | ge'cam |

*Negation.*

The Phonetic peculiarities of negation in Hunza have been already given above (pp. 139, 140). The variety of initials in

Hunza negation, closely related as they are with pronominal prefixes, offers an interesting field for investigation into the original and intermediate forms of these prefixes. The following table shows the various forms of initials in negation:—

*N.*

*Hu.*

|                         |     |                       |
|-------------------------|-----|-----------------------|
| Object as 1st pers. sg. | au— | ajə— < * a+u+ə        |
|                         |     | u dropped, j as glide |
| " "                     | pl. | 'aumr— < * a+u+mi     |
| " "                     | sg. | 'augu— < * a+u+gu     |
| " "                     | pl. | 'aumə— < * a+u+nu     |
| " "                     | sg. | əj— < * a+u+ɪ         |
| " "                     | pl. | əj— < * a+u+ni        |

(the u of the original au has been dropped in Hu.)

The following conjugation of dəlas 'to beat' in the negative past tense will give an idea of the difference between the dialects:—

*N.*

*Hu.*

|                       |                             |                  |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| 'he does not beat me' | 'me je 'auədəjəubai         | 'me je 'ajədɪjəi |
| " "                   | 'us' 'me mi 'aumr'əjəubai   | 'me mi 'amrɪjəi  |
| " "                   | 'thee' 'me um 'augu'əjəubai | 'me um 'akurɪjəi |
| " "                   | 'you' 'me ma 'aumədəjəubai  | 'me ma 'amədɪjəi |
| " "                   | 'him' 'me khn 'audəjəubai   | 'me khn ejɪɪjəi  |
| " "                   | 'them' 'me u 'audəjəubai    | 'me u ejɪɪjəi    |

Also cf.

*N.*

*Hu.*

|           |                   |          |
|-----------|-------------------|----------|
| 'auḡəvaba | 'I do not eat it' | ejḡəvaba |
|-----------|-------------------|----------|

For further examples, see above, p. 136, and for the devoicing of the consonant immediately after the negative prefix, see p. 140.

The potential compound verb with the 'can'-sense is formed by the auxiliary 'ulanas 'to be able' in N., but man'as 'to be' in Hu. Cf.

*N.*

*Hu.*

|                  |               |                  |
|------------------|---------------|------------------|
| je 'etigəv'ajəba | 'I can do'    | je 'etigəv'ajəba |
| je 'etigəv'ajəba | 'I cannot do' | je 'etigəv'ajəba |

In the optative mood, N. has i before ə; in Hu. it is often lost. Cf.



N.

je a'maŋga  
um gu'maŋs  
je dɛɭɛga

'I may become'  
'thou mayest become'  
'I may beat'

Hu.  
e'mɔga  
gu'mɔs  
dɛɭs

The conditional, which signifies unfulfilled condition, is formed in N. by the addition of -sum to the future; in Hu. by the addition of -se. Cf.

N.

sabur ja m dɛɭameum, in dɛɭasmi  
yesterday I him would have beaten he escaped

Hu. sɔɭi ja in dɛɭame, in dɛɭasmi  
(yesterday)

'I would have beaten him yesterday, but he escaped.'  
Similarly cf.

N.

'seameum 'I would have done'  
'noameum 'I would have gone'  
'amejameum 'I would have become'

Hu.

'seame 'I would have done'  
'noame 'I would have gone'  
'amejame 'I would have become'

The imperative mood has -u ending in N. where Hu. has -o. Cf.

N.

'seu 'tell'  
'dieu 'bring'

Hu.

'seo 'tell'  
'diso 'bring'

cf. p. 137.

This mood also shows loss of the prefix da- in Hu. Cf.

N.

dusu 'bring'  
d'sokk 'get down'  
dachi 'give me'

Hu.

sù 'bring'  
sokk 'get down'  
achi 'give me'

The causative shows despiration in Hu., where N. has the aspirate. Cf.

N.

'e.gu'charas 'to make one go'

Hu.

'e.ku'garas

For further examples, vide p. 139.

Particularly notable are the variations in the conjunctive participle in these dialects:

The Hu. conj. part. has a -n ending, N. is without it. Cf.

N. conj. part. Hu. conj. part.

dagɔjɔs 'to be hidden'

nu'taga

nu'tagon

d'a.gas 'to laugh'

d'a.gas

d'a.gasɔn

'dɛɭɛjas 'to hinder'

'dɛɭa

dɛɭɔn

dɛɭɔs 'to be wet'

dɛɭ

dɛɭɔn

N. doɭnas 'to catch'

doɭn

duɭɔn

Hu. duɭnas }

du'asas (pl.) 'to come out'

du'ɔɭa

du'ɔɭɔn

du'sujɔs 'to bring'

du'su

du'sun

ɛsas 'to tell'

'ɛsu

'ɛsun

ɛtas 'to do'

'ɛti

'ɛtan

'e.las 'to prick'

nɛ.li

nɛ.lɔn

'e.stagɔas 'to conceal'

nɛ.staga

nɛ.stagon

ɛɭas 'to plunge'

nɪl

nɪlɔn

ɛɭɔs 'to cling to'

'nɪja

nɪjan

ɛɭɔs 'to meet'

'nɪɛs

nɪɛn

ɛɭɔs 'to give'

nɪn

nɪn

or }  
ɛɭɔs }

'to be dry'

nɪn

nɪn

ɛɭɔs 'to breed'

nɪɭa

nɪɭɔn

ɛɭɔs 'to come'

dɪ

dɪn

ɛɭɔs 'to carry'

'nuka

nu'kɔn

N. gauɭɔs }

'to pick up'

nu'kɔn

nu'kɔnɔn

Hu. goɭɔs }

gr'ɛɭɔs 'to enter in large number'

nu'kɪja

nu'kɪɔn

gr'ɛɭɔs 'to weave'

nu'kɪa

nu'kɪɔn

gr'ɛɭɔs 'to put in'

nu'ki

nu'kɪn

nɔs 'to go'

nɪ

nɪn

ɛɭɔs 'to eat'

nu'ɛ

nu'ɛn

(2) The despiration of the consonant in Hunza after the conj. part. prefix has been already illustrated in 'nɛɔn, 'having given, nu'kɔsɔr 'having gone' on p. 139. Cf.

N.

Hu.

ɛɭɔs 'to take away'

'nɛɭu

'nɛɭɔn

'dɛɭɔs 'to press'

'dɛɭɔ

'dɛɭɔn

'ɛɭɔs 'to press'

'nɛɭɔ

'nɛɭɔn

gu'ɛɭɔs 'to sleep'

nu'kɛɭa

nu'kɛɭɔn

gu'ɛɭɔs 'to go'

nu'kɛɭɔ

nu'kɛɭɔn

'ɛɭɔs 'to give'

'nɛɭɔ

'nɛɭɔn

|           | N.           | Hu.       |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| i'khacis  | 'to shut in' | 'nikhaci  |
| i'ghars   | 'to break'   | nqher     |
| khari'ans | 'to delay'   | 'nikheran |

(3) This -n does not occur as conj. part. ending under the following conditions:—

(a) When the root already ends in -n, cf.

|             | N.           | Hu.        |
|-------------|--------------|------------|
| gy'suginas  | 'to consult' | nu'kusgin  |
| gy'minas    | 'to write'   | nu'krmin   |
| i'char'anas | 'to cudgel'  | 'nchar'kan |
| manas       | 'to become'  | numa       |
| se'nas      | 'to say'     | 'nuse      |

The last two forms are irregular in N., but the corresponding Hu. forms are quite regular.

An exception to this heading is do'inas (N.), Hu. d'ynas, which in Hunza has the conj. part. d'ynm.

(b) When the verb has the prefix i or dr. Cf.

|           | N.              | Hu.      |
|-----------|-----------------|----------|
| i'qhalas  | 'to ache'       | 'nqbul   |
| i'phalas  | 'to be injured' | nu'phalt |
| dr'kharas | 'to decrease'   | 'dkhar   |

(4) The following unusual forms can be explained by Vowel Harmony:—

(a) N. nu'mm 'having drunk'

(b) Hu. nu'jol sg. 'having put on (a coat)':

(a) In N. ebul nu'mm 'having drunk water' we had expected nu'mm, because it is a general rule in both the dialects that the conjunctive participle of a neuter verb is formed by prefixing nu- to the root, whether the object of the verb is sg. or pl., cf.

| N.    | Hu.              |
|-------|------------------|
| nu'je | 'having eaten'   |
| 'nuka | 'having carried' |

So we had expected nu'mm from the neuter verb nu'mas 'to drink' and thus the Hunza form nu'mm might seem to be regular. But phonetically the Nagart form nu'mm is more regular, for neuter roots with i or r take the prefix nu in both the dialects. Cf. the conj. part. of

|          | N.          | Hu.      |
|----------|-------------|----------|
| gy'minas | 'to write'  | nu'krmin |
| gi:as    | 'to put in' | nu'kin   |

(b) The explanation of nu'jol as being due to vowel harmony has been already given in the present writer's article on *Burushaski Texts* in 'Indian Linguistics', Vol. I, part 3, pages 24, 26.

The following forms of the conj. part. in Hunza are irregular:—

|                 | N.                     | Hu.         |
|-----------------|------------------------|-------------|
| du'guas         | 'to fasten or tighten' | 'nuduga sg. |
| (as with a key) |                        | 'nudugu pl. |
| d'gas           | 'to bring'             | 'dga        |
| th'jas          | 'to be extinguished'   | nu'tha      |
| thias           | 'to pour'              | nu'thi      |

In the last example we had expected a deaspiration of th, as in 'nuem 'having given'.

Adjective formation in both the dialects does not show any variation, the normal adjectival ending being -um, as in 'matum 'black'; buyrum, 'white'. Cf., however, the alternation t:l in the structure of the following ordinal number:—

| N.        | Hu.         |
|-----------|-------------|
| th'a:atum | 'hundredth' |

The N. form is here regular, as in both the dialects -ulum is the normal ordinal ending, though the initial u in Hu. is generally dropped, cf.

| N.          | Hu.      |
|-------------|----------|
| 'walcjulum  | 'fourth' |
| nu'fmdjulum | 'fifth'  |

Hu. th'a:atum is therefore irregular.

Some *Adverbs* in N. end in -i, where we have o or u in Hu., e.g.

| N.      | Hu.      |
|---------|----------|
| 'kuhi   | 'even'   |
| 'amuli  | 'where'  |
| 'amulum | 'whence' |

### III. VOCABULARY.

A glance through the standard list of words and sentences given in the Appendix may lead the reader to suppose that the

so-called 'dialects' are only phases of one and the same dialect, there being few differences among the words given except a little difference in pronunciation here and there.

But as I pointed out in a printed circular to the Linguistic Society of India (Sept. 6, 1930), the key-words and phrases in the I.S.I. are not of much value for inter-dialectical research. Those key-words are of a generic type and may be nearly identical among several dialects with a common culture.

*Shibboleths.*

In my investigation of the Hunza and the Nagari dialects I examined a number of informants, some of them quite old and with a keen observation of linguistic variations. I collected the following shibboleths from them, shibboleths which they said had often come to their notice and had been talked about as differentiating the Hunza from the Nagari dialect:—

|             |                      |              |  |
|-------------|----------------------|--------------|--|
| <i>Hu.</i>  |                      | <i>N.</i>    |  |
| ga'jɪl      | 'firewood'           | 'cuni        |  |
| charb'ajo   | 'upper hips' (human) | ca'rakɪfo    |  |
| 'gugundl    | 'dove'               | kuti         |  |
| darɔgu      | 'stick'              | kuɳ'a        |  |
| ɛtɪʂamajɪba | 'I can do'           | 'ɛtɪʂulɪjɪba |  |
| ju'ɛr       | 'war'                | buɳ'a        |  |
|             |                      | Sh. bɪɾɔ     |  |

Dialects, in which differences like the above occur, cannot, without extraordinary reasons, be supposed to be identical. As regards the directions in which differences in vocabulary occur, it will be noted that most of the words relating to the human body, the human relations and the numerals—the hackneyed test of philologists—are almost identical,—indicating a common origin and a common culture. But striking differences occur in words relating to the Forest and agricultural life, utensils and instruments, and natural and physical phenomena.

A striking feature of the Vocabulary is the poverty of adjectives and abstract terms. For such a concept as 'fruitful', the dialects have

|  |                                     |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| but ujaɪbi   | 'it carries a great deal'           |
| but u'janas tɔm dɪʔa   | 'the tree is carrying a great deal' |
| There is no word for 'height'. For 'what is its height?' the only available idiom is 'how high is it?' |                                     |
| 'khuse bɔ'urum th'aum bi   |                                     |

But the dialects are very rich in 'Enumerative idiom' (cf. my article on *Burushaski Tense* in 'Indian Linguistics',

Vol. I, part 3, p. 28), in which minute details of actions have separate words as in Mundā,—Hunza, in this respect, being richer than Nagari. The following directions of variations in vocabulary, then, may be indicated—:

(1) *Words relating to forest and agricultural life.*

|             |   |                                 |                                     |
|-------------|---|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>Hu.</i>  |   | <i>N.</i>                       |                                     |
| ɛdɔp        | 'harvest'                                       | ɔn                              | Sh. ɔn 'grain'                      |
| ba'ɔumɪo    | 'yeast'   | 'ɪkɪr                           |                                     |
| bɛɟɪsm      | 'apricot-pickles'                               | ɛalɪɟɪɲɛ or kal'tas             |                                     |
| bɪʂqɔ'galɔu | 'centipede'                                     | Sh. ɟalɪɛ                       |                                     |
| bo'ɔondo    | 'maize-bread'                                   | ɬɔ'tɔppo                        |                                     |
| buc         | 'male-goat for propagation'                     | Sh. tɔ'ɬori                     |                                     |
| buɟɪɪɾɛ     | 'cowherd'                                       | 'shula                          |                                     |
|             |   | hu'jɛɪɾɛ                        | 'for both 'cowherd' and 'shepherd'. |
|             |   | In Hu. it means 'shepherd' only |                                     |
| buɟɪsɪɾɪɟɪ  | 'cow-house' (for winter)                        | } tɔrk                          |                                     |
| buɟɪɾɛɪɪɪ   | 'cowhouse' (for summer)                         | } dɪr Sh. dɪr                   |                                     |
| dɪr         | 'boundary'                                      | } ju'fui                        |                                     |
| ɛari        | 'cricket' (insect)                              | } 'chare'tɔpi                   |                                     |
| 'chare-bas  | 'a small inaccessible dense forest on mountain' |                                 |                                     |
| ɟɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ   | 'the large wasp'                                | } nuɟɪɪɪɪɪ                      |                                     |
| ɟɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ   | 'a tiny crust of stone or wood'                 | } jɪɪɪɪɪ                        |                                     |
| 'galɪɟ      | 'precipice with constructed steps'              | } kaɾɪ'ɪɪfo                     |                                     |
| 'gɪkɪn      | 'small bundle of wood'                          | } tɔ'ɪpi                        |                                     |
| ɟɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ  | 'the bat' (night's)                             | } Sh. tɔɪɪɪɪɪ                   |                                     |
| ɔ'ɪɪɪɪɪ     | 'the bat' (day's)                               | } sɔ'ɟɪɪɪɪɪ                     |                                     |
| ɟɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ   | 'bitch'   | } Sh. sɔ'ɟɪɪɪɪɪ                 |                                     |
|             |   | } 'ɟɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ                     |                                     |
| ɟɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ   | 'cottage'                                       | } 'cuni                         |                                     |
| ɟɪɪɪɪɪɪɪɪ   | 'firewood'                                      |                                 |                                     |



## Hu.

gu'dingmamù  
'gugundul  
'raw milk'  
'dove'

## N.

'namo mamù  
kùti  
Sh. koti kunil  
da'jak  
phir'dal  
lot  
Sh. lō'i  
jēt  
khakhai  
Sh. khakdi  
'green walnut'  
phir'an (In Hu. it  
means 'spider')

gu'rūk  
gus  
hal  
hal'den  
has  
'goat'  
'walnut-kernel'

'holanas  
'moth'

'holanas  
'butterfly'  
'huco cukotae ust'at 'shoemaker' lit. expert  
in sewing shoe

r'phulgo  
'khuo  
'hump of cattle'  
'mosquito'

p-ə'jə'jə  
'apricot-pickles'  
cf. bat'jə'm above

phr'lal  
phir'am  
'wild mint'  
'spider'

'phurane'phaskacay  
'phute'u'vukumus  
or 'pharə'mus  
'spider's web'  
'mushroom' (umbrella-  
form) lit. 'ghost's buds  
or caps'

r'imzil  
'civet'

sar'mus  
su'putt  
'large skin-bag'  
'horse's dung'

'kake'as  
tə'v'hi

'to massage a horse'  
'male sheep' (young)  
'male sheep' (grown-up)

mejs  
buge't  
{ this is the com-  
mon word for  
animal dung in  
general in both  
the dialects  
'qə'qə'c-tes  
'ker'c-lo

## (2) Words relating to utensils and instruments.

## Hu.

'asumbalk  
directs the speed of a flour-  
mill'

## N.

'o'ki  
'pillow'

u'nokis  
Sh. onokis  
'cushion for chair'

etə'gir  
'chukus  
'dagu  
'tongs'  
'bow-string'  
'glue'

dam'bur  
large wooden basket plastered  
with mud

'hauk  
har'qum  
har'kim  
'basket for bread'  
'the yoke of a plough'  
'ear-ring'

g'ralt  
ka'dakus  
khaci  
kha'was  
jyjn  
pul'tunig  
pur'elo  
tu'tur  
'ladle'  
'stocks for punishment'  
'pail'  
'leather-bag fitted with strap'  
'rug'  
'bellows'  
'flute'  
'whip or scourge'

'thak'kus  
contrivance in a flour-mill'

thaljō  
as'qum  
'magun  
dōri  
sarikus  
'paqda  
boro'koj  
'khama  
pho'jan  
ga'bi  
jy'kan  
ka'deki

## (3) Words relating to natural and physical phenomena.

## Hu.

## N.

shul baralt  
'ogur  
buy'tunə  
'thin cloud'  
'thick cloud'  
'white cloud'  
(there being no special  
word for a 'cloud')

'dambu  
'bubble'

hare'ilem  
(lit. 'stream's eye')

gambe'g'ali  
hien  
'sleet'  
'hail'

'usqi  
garejl

|            |            |
|------------|------------|
| <i>Hu.</i> | <i>N.</i>  |
| 'nironɔŋ   | biɔŋ       |
|            | Sh. biɔŋ   |
| ɬis'qan    | ba'jal     |
|            | Sh. bŋjā'1 |
| ɬiris      | ɟurɬɟi     |
|            | Sh. ɟurɬui |

(4) Words relating to time.

|            |             |
|------------|-------------|
| <i>Hu.</i> | <i>N.</i>   |
| 'jimale    | 'jum'den    |
| sq'ɬi      | 'səbur      |
| 'sasɬumɔ   | 'ɟamo       |
| poŋ        | 'ɟen 'year' |

(5) Words relating to the human body.

|                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| <i>Hu.</i>       | <i>N.</i>                                   |
| awas am'en       | 'jaw'                                       |
| ɟarɬ'ɔjo         | 'upper hips'                                |
| kenɟi            | 'ear-hole'                                  |
| aslet            | 'moustache'                                 |
| mar'mukan        | 'handful'                                   |
| 'phɬɐt           | 'a scar'                                    |
| hiɟɛtas          | 'to hicough'                                |
| ɟa'ɬɐr           | 'squin'                                     |
|                  | 'ku'duk men'as                              |
|                  | 'ɟero                                       |
|                  | Sh. ɬɐfe aɟhiye                             |
| 'ɟipm            | 'child's penis'                             |
| 'ɟawɬ'dto        | 'mad'                                       |
| ə'charɬiŋ mən'as | 'to be hoarse'                              |
| 'hupɟɛtas        | 'to drink with a noise'                     |
| (ɟoto) 'phɬɬɛtas | 'to open a small wound'                     |
| (ɟoɔɔ) ɟarɛtas   | 'to open a large wound' (for both meanings) |
| 'ɟarɟɛtas        | 'to pass fluid stools'                      |
|                  | 'ɟɬɬɟɛtas                                   |

(6) Words relating to various actions.

|               |  |
|---------------|--|
| <i>Hu.</i>    | <i>N.</i>                                    |
| aqɟ'ure ɟanos | 'to carry a child on one's 'hapa ɟanos side' |

|                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| <i>Hu.</i>        | <i>N.</i>                               |
| byɟkmas           | 'to beg'                                |
|                   | 'ɬu'maras                               |
|                   | (this word occurs in both the dialects) |
| 'hani 'br.aqɟotas | 'to break apricot-kernel'               |
| 'ɟhɬɬupɟurotas    | 'to rub or press with hands', as dough  |
|                   | 'to unhusk'                             |
| dal'ɬinas         | 'arise'                                 |
| dal diɟe          | 'to cut and lay in heaps'               |
| 'dɟɬɬas           | No parallel                             |
| (beralt) dɬ'arɟas | 'to rain'                               |
| dɟ'qhokkuras      | 'to be tangled'                         |
|                   | 'to prick'                              |
| dɔ.jamas          | 'to fall' (said of a horse)             |
| (ho) dɔɟras       | 'to fall' (said of snow)                |
| dɔɟras            | 'to bake'                               |
| 'dangɛtas         | 'to fill'                               |
| hiɟɛtas           | 'to count' (object neuter)              |
| 'ɟhanas           | 'to count' (object non-neuter)          |
| u'ɟhanas          | 'to count' (object non-both)            |
|                   | 'u'ɟhanas (for both)                    |
| 'ɬharɟe gum'gam   | 'to soliloquize in muttering voice'     |
| men'as            | 'to leave'                              |
| 'ɬarɬas           | 'to copulate'                           |
| mɔ.mɬ'ras         | 'to read'                               |
| 'gatenas          | 'to brush a horse'                      |
| ɬkɔ.jelas         | 'to clap with hands'                    |
| 'qharɟɛtas        | 'to sprout'                             |
| ɬbraqmən'as       | 'to castrate a bull or buffalo'         |
| sar'barɟas        |   |

Under the above head, semantic variations may be noticed in relation to the following words—:

|            |                                       |
|------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>Hu.</i> | <i>N.</i>                             |
| bi'ɟjɛas   | 'to fire a gun' (ɬu'maq)              |
|            | 'to spread' (a ɟurɟɛt, etc.)          |
|            | In Hu. 'wasɬas is used in this sense. |

## Hu.

## V.

'chayenas 'to mend'

'to sew'

In Hu. 'cuketas is used in this sense.

daldiej 'arise'

'to keep standing the whole day long'

ga'vamuras 'to press kneaded dough finally'

'to press woven cloth'

In N. only dëqquulanas is generally used for all the processes.

rimutes

'to cut bread into slices' 'to mince grass or dry bread'

For mincing grass Hu. has

'zarzeraq êtas.

'jagujas

'to pick up with hands'

'to search for, as a person.

In Hu. it cannot be used with reference to a non-neuter object; byjrenas 'to search' is used instead.

## (7) Adjectives and abstract terms.

## Hu.

## N.

|          |                         |           |
|----------|-------------------------|-----------|
| alòkum   | 'pair'                  | hikum     |
| ba'barum | 'disagreeable in smell' | gas'parum |
| chuyan   | 'a little' (for water)  | thujan    |
| phiben   | 'some' (as walnuts)     | kaman     |
| day      | 'difficult to break'    | camargto  |
| galyum   | 'enemy'                 | 'dujman   |
| huk'heji | 'once'                  | hik-daman |
| 'huma    | 'shallow'               | jai       |
| khut     | 'broad'                 | 'jo-qum   |
| mi'nas   | 'story'                 | ni'nas    |
| 'phappus | 'bastard'               | 'amulo    |
| qbas     | 'fragile'               | mu'haso   |
| ram'rat  | 'level'                 | gu'tum    |
| roi      | 'desire, will'          | raqq      |

## Enumerative idiom.

The above vocabularies, as for cloud, cowherd, cowhouse, male sheep, etc., will show that the 'Munda' tendency for 'enumerative idiom' is greater in Hu. than in N., for in the former there are separate words for the detailed aspects of an object or action, thus to 'knead' in the first stage is dëqquulanas, but the final press is ga'vamuras. In N. dëqquulanas is the only word used throughout. For further examples see the above vocabularies. The closer relation of Nagari with Shina will be also clear from the above vocabularies.

## Conclusion.

The above pages give us the following results—:

(1) The dialects of Hunza and of Nagari are appreciably distinct dialects, though they are not separate.

(2) Hunza is pre-eminently a dialect of contractions, and manifests a later stage in the development of Burushaski.

(3) But while phonologically and grammatically Hunza shows a later stage of Burushaski, it preserves better the original vocabulary of the language, the vocabulary of Nagari being contaminated with Shina.

(4) Burushaski is still an unclassified language, its classification being a subject for future investigation, but the above dialectical study has facilitated the approach to this classification. For Burushaski being now a mixed language, unless a comparatively primitive *Gemein-Burushaski* is reconstructed, its relation to other languages cannot be definitely established. The direction to this reconstruction of *Gemein-Burushaski* is afforded by the above study, which shows us that for this purpose we have to look for the phonological and grammatical forms of Nagari and the vocabulary of Hunza.

(5) The above facts have also a bearing on general Linguistics.

(a) In our methods of Dialectology, we have to bear in mind that for the reconstruction of a *Gemein-Sprache*, we may have to look for its Phonology and Grammar in one of its dialects and vocabulary in another. A language or a dialect may be old in grammar, but may look very modern from the standpoint of vocabulary. A comparison of Panjābi with Bengali will illustrate this. Panjābi is an older language grammatically, but its vocabulary has been greatly Persianized. The reconstruction of an older *Gemein-Panjābi* will require a reference to allied languages with an older vocabulary.

(b) The above study also throws light on the methods of inter-dialectical research. It shows in what directions the vocabulary of two dialects, which on the surface seem to be identical, can vastly differ. Dialects with a common culture



need not show any striking difference in vocabulary relating to the human body, blood-relations and the numerals. Inter-dialectical research in vocabulary requires the exploration of other fields, as forest and agricultural life, natural and physical phenomena, and the various 'secondary' activities of man.

## APPENDIX.

Standard words and sentences according to the scheme of the *Linguistic Survey of India*.

1941]

STUDIES IN BURUSHASKI DIALECTOLOGY

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| English.  | Hunza.  | Nagari.  | L.S.I. equivalent.   |
|-----------|---|--|--|
| 1. One.   | han, hin, huk ; han'hagur<br>one horse ; hin hir, one<br>man ; hik den, one year.   | han, hin, huk  | Han, hin, hik ; han haghur,<br>one horse ; hin hir, one<br>man ; hik din, one year.                        |
| 2. Two.   | 'alta, al'tan, 'alto ; 'alta<br>ha'guriso, (or 'hagur)<br>two horses ; al'tan'hiri,<br>two men ; 'alto 'deniq,<br>two years.              | al'tag, al'tan, 'alto al'tag<br>ha'guriso, two horses. | altā, altan, alto ; altā<br>haghur, two horses ; altān<br>hiri, two men ; alto<br>dining, two years.       |
| 3. Three. | 'usko, is'ken, 'iski ; 'usko<br>ha'guriso (or 'hagur),<br>three horses ; is'ken'hiri,<br>three men ; 'iski 'deniq<br>or den, three years. | 'usko, is'ken, iski                                    | Uskō, iskin, iski ; uskō<br>haghur, three horses ; iskin<br>hiri, three men ; iski<br>dining, three years. |
| 4. Four.  | 'walto, 'walti ; 'walto<br>ha'guriso (or 'hagur),<br>four horses ; 'walto 'hiri,<br>four men ; 'walti 'deniq<br>or den, four years.       | 'walto, 'walti   | Waltō, waltī ; walto haghur,<br>four horses ; walto hiri,<br>four men ; waltī dining,<br>four years.       |

| English.  | Hunza.   | Nagari.            | L.S.I. equivalent.   |
|-----------|--|--------------------|--|
| 5. Five.  | 'ṣhundo, 'ṣhindi; 'ṣhundo<br>ha'guriṣo (or 'hagur),<br>five horses; 'ṣhundo 'hiri<br>five men; 'ṣhindi 'ḍeṇiṇ<br>or ḍeṇ, five years. | 'ṣhundo, 'ṣhindi   | Sundō, sindi; sundō haghur,<br>five horses; sundō hiri,<br>five men; sindi dining,<br>five years.                |
| 6. Six.   | mi'ṣindo, mi'ṣindi; mi'ṣindo<br>ha'guriṣo, six horses;<br>mi'ṣindo 'hiri, six men;<br>mi'ṣindi 'ḍeṇiṇ, six years.                    | mi'ṣindo, mi'ṣindi | Mashindo, mashindi;<br>mashindo haghur, six<br>horses; mashindo hiri, six<br>men; mashindi dining,<br>six years. |
| 7. Seven. | 'thalo, thale; 'thalo<br>ha'guriṣo, seven horses;<br>'thalo 'hri, seven men;<br>'thale 'ḍeṇiṇ, seven years.                          | 'thalo, 'thale     | Thalo, thalē; thalo haghur,<br>seven horses; thalō hiri,<br>seven men; thalē dining<br>seven years.              |
| 8. Eight. | al'tambo, al'tambi;<br>al'tambo ha'guriṣo, eight<br>horses; al'tambo 'hiri,<br>eight men; al'tambi<br>'ḍeṇiṇ, eight years.           | al'tambo, al'tambi | Altambō, altambi; altambō<br>hagur, eight horses; al-<br>tambō hiri, eight men; al-<br>tambi dining eight years. |

|              |  |                     |  |
|--------------|--|---------------------|--|
| 9. Nine.     | 'hupco, 'huṇṭi; 'hupco<br>ha'guriṣo, nine horses;<br>'hupco 'hiri, nine men;<br>'huṇṭi 'ḍeṇiṇ, nine years. | 'hupco, 'huṇṭi      | Hunchō, huṇṭi; hunchō<br>haghur, nine horses; hun-<br>chō hiri, nine men; huṇṭi<br>dining, nine years. |
| 10. Ten.     | tōrumo, tōrimi; tōrumo<br>ha'guriṣo, ten horses;<br>tōrumo 'hri, ten men;<br>tōrimi 'ḍeṇiṇ, ten years.     | tōrumo, tōrimi      | Tōrmō, tōrmi; tōrmō haghur,<br>ten horses; tōrmō hiri, ten<br>men; tōrmi dining ten<br>years.          |
| 11. Twenty.  | 'altar   | 'althar             | altar; altar haghur, twenty<br>horses; altar hiri, twenty<br>men; altar dining, twenty<br>years.       |
| 12. Fifty.   | 'alto altar tōrumo   | 'altu althar tōrumo | Alto altar tōrmō   |
| 13. Hundred. | th'a   | th'a                | Thāh   |
| 14. I.       | je, ja   | je, ja              | Jē, jā   |
| 15. Of me.   | ja   | ja                  | Jā   |
| 16. Mine.    | ja, ja bi, mine is.  | ja, ja bi           | Jā; whose horse is this?<br>Jā bi, mine is.  |
| 17. We.      | mi   | mi                  | Mi   |
| 18. Of us.   | mi   | mi                  | Mi   |
| 19. Our.     | mi, mi ha'guriṣo, our horses.  | mi, mi ha'guriṣo    | Mi; mi haghur, our horses.   |
| 20. Thou.    | uṇ, un, 'uṇe, 'une   | um, 'ume            | Ung, Ungē  |

| English.     | Hunza.                                   | Nagari.             | L.S.I. equivalent.                   |
|--------------|--|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 21. Of thee. | 'uŋe; 'uŋe 'hagur, <i>thy horse.</i>     | 'ume; ; 'ume 'hagur | Ungē; ungē haghur, <i>thy horse.</i> |
| 22. Thine.   | 'uŋe, 'une                               | 'ume                | Ungē                                 |
| 23. You.     | m'a                                      | m'a                 | Mah                                  |
| 24. Of you.  | m'a                                      | m'a                 | Mah                                  |
| 25. Your.    | m'a; m'a 'hagur, <i>your horse.</i>      | m'a; m'a 'hagur     | Mah; mah haghur, <i>your horse.</i>  |
| 26. He.      | in, 'ine                                 | in, 'ine            | In, inē                              |
| 27. Of him.  | 'ine                                     | 'ine                | Inē                                  |
| 28. His.     | 'ine; 'ine 'hagur, <i>his horse.</i>     | 'ine; 'ine 'hagur   | Inē; inē haghur, <i>his horse.</i>   |
| 29. They.    | 'ue                                      | 'ue                 | Ūē                                   |
| 30. Of them. | 'ue                                      | 'ue                 | Ūē                                   |
| 31. Their.   | 'ue; 'ue ha'guriŋo, <i>their horses.</i> | 'ue; 'ue ha'guriŋo  | Ūē; pē haghur, <i>their horses.</i>  |
| 32. Hand.    | irin                                     | irin                | Īrīn                                 |
| 33. Foot.    | jyŋis                                    | jyŋis               | Yūŋis                                |
| 34. Nose.    | r'mupus                                  | r'mupus             | Imūpush                              |
| 35. Eye.     | 'ilein                                   | 'ilein              | Ilchin                               |
| 36. Mouth.   | r'qhatt                                  | r'qhatt             | Ikbat                                |
| 37. Tooth.   | im'e                                     | im'e                | Imih                                 |

|                 |            |            |           |
|-----------------|------------|------------|-----------|
| 38. Ear.        | 'iltuməl   | 'iltuməl   | Iltūmal   |
| 39. Hair.       | gu'jaŋ     | gu'jaŋ     | Ghoyang   |
| 40. Head.       | 'jaŋis     | 'jaŋis     | Yaŋis     |
| 41. Tongue.     | jyŋmuh     | jyŋmus     | Yūmus     |
| 42. Belly.      | jyŋl       | jyŋl       | Yūl       |
| 43. Back.       | r'valdas   | r'valdas   | Ivāldas   |
| 44. Iron.       | chu'mar    | chu'mar    | Chhomar   |
| 45. Gold.       | 'genis     | 'genis     | Ghinish   |
| 46. Silver.     | buri       | buri       | Buri      |
| 47. Father.     | jū         | jū         | Yū        |
| 48. Mother.     | 'imi       | 'imi       | Īmi       |
| 49. Brother.    | 'eŋo       | 'eŋu       | Ēcho      |
| 50. Sister.     | jas        | jas        | Yas       |
| 51. Man.        | hir        | hir        | Hir       |
| 52. Woman.      | gus        | gus        | Gus       |
| 53. Wife.       | jyŋs       | jyŋs       | Yūs       |
| 54. Child.      | hilas      | hilas      | Hilas     |
| 55. Son.        | ij         | ij         | Ī         |
| 56. Daughter.   | ēi         | ēi         | Ēi        |
| 57. Slave.      | ŋon        | ŋon(?)     | Tgun      |
| 58. Cultivator. | o'dapkwin  | o'dapkwin  | Burushin  |
| 59. Shepherd.   | hu'jeltarc | hu'jeltarc | Hoyaltars |
| 60. God.        | qhu'da     | qhu'da     | Khudā     |



| English.   | Hunza.                    | Nagari.          | L.S.I. equivalent.      |
|------------|---------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| 61. Devil. | ʃeit'an                   | ʃeit'an          | Shaitān                 |
| 62. Sun.   | s'a                       | s'a              | Sab                     |
| 63. Moon.  | həlaŋə                    | həlaŋə           | Halang                  |
| 64. Star.  | əsiʃ                      | əsiʃ             | Aal                     |
| 65. Fire.  | phù                       | phù              | Phū                     |
| 66. Water. | əhɪl                      | əhɪl             | Sil                     |
| 67. House. | h'a                       | h'a              | Hā                      |
| 68. Horse. | 'hagur                    | 'hagur           | Haghur                  |
| 69. Cow.   | bujə                      | bujə             | Buvā                    |
| 70. Dog.   | huk                       | huk              | Huk                     |
| 71. Cat.   | buj                       | buj              | Bush                    |
| 72. Cock.  | (hir) qər'qamʊə           | (hir) qər'qamʊə  | Hir karkamush           |
| 73. Duck.  | ph'arɪʃ                   | ph'arɪʃ          | Pharish                 |
| 74. Ass.   | ʃa'kun                    | ʃa'kun           | Jakun                   |
| 75. Camel. | uʃ                        | uʃ               | uʃh                     |
| 76. Bird.  | bəlas                     | bəlas            | Balas                   |
| 77. Go.    | nɪ ; to go, nɪəs          | nɪ, nɪəs         | Nɪ ; to go, nɪas        |
| 78. Eat.   | ʃɪ ; to eat, ʃɪəs         | ʃɪ, ʃɪəs         | Shɪ ; to eat, ʃhɪas     |
| 79. Sit.   | hu'rut ; to sit, 'hurʊtəs | hu'rut, 'hurʊtəs | Harut ; to sit, harutas |
| 80. Come.  | jʊ ; to come, j.ʊəs       | jʊ, jʊəs         | Ju ; to come, jūas      |

|                   |                                  |                       |                           |
|-------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| 81. Beat.         | dəli ; to beat, dəlɪəs           | dəli, dəlɪəs          | Deli ; to beat, dellas    |
| 82. Stand.        | daldiʃe ; to stand, daldieʃjəs : | hartman'ɛ, hartmon'as | Diyih ; to stand, Diyihas |
| 83. Die.          | guʃɪr ; to die, iʃrəs :          | guʃɪr, iʃrəs          | Guʃɪr ; to die, lras      |
| 84. Give.         | juʃ ; to give, juʃjəs :          | juʃ, juʃjəs           | Yū ; to give, jūas        |
| 85. Run.          | g'arə ; to run, g'arəəs :        | g'arə, g'arəəs        | Gārta ; to run, gārtās    |
| 86. Up.           | 'jaʃɛ                            | 'jaʃɛ                 | Yate                      |
| 87. Near.         | əsiʃr                            | əsiʃr                 | Aalr                      |
| 88. Down.         | ʃ'arɛ                            | ʃ'arɛ                 | Yarē                      |
| 89. Far.          | məthan                           | məthan                | Matthan                   |
| 90. Before.       | ʃ'ar, 'ɪŋgi                      | ʃ'ar, 'ɪŋgi           | Angē                      |
| 91. Behind.       | 'ɪlʃi                            | 'ɪlʃi                 | Ilji                      |
| 92. Who.          | 'amm                             | 'amm                  | Āmin                      |
| 93. What.         | bəson                            | bəson                 | Bisan                     |
| 94. Why.          | 'bəʃɛ                            | 'bəʃɛ                 | Bisē                      |
| 95. And.          | kɛ                               | kɛ                    | kih                       |
| 96. But.          | 'ama                             | 'ama                  | Ammā                      |
| 97. If.           | -kɛ (added to verb)              | əqʁhnaʃ               | Akhnā                     |
| 98. Yes.          | 'awa                             | 'awa                  | Awā                       |
| 99. No.           | b'ɛ                              | b'ɛ                   | Bih                       |
| 100. Alas.        | 'hajo                            | 'ajo                  | Afsōs                     |
| 101. A father.    | hm jʊ                            | hm jʊ                 | Hin yū                    |
| 102. Of a father. | hm jʊɛ                           | hm jʊɛ                | Hin yūɛ                   |
| 103. To a father. | hm jʊor                          | hm jʊor               | Hin yūar                  |

| English.              | Hunzi.           | Nuguri.          | L.S.I. equivalent.   |
|-----------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| 104. From a father.   | hin jùsùm        | hin jùsùm        | Hin yū tsum          |
| 105. Two fathers.     | Al'tan jùsaro    | Al'tan jùsaro    | Altan yūsarō         |
| 106. Fathers.         | jùsaro           | jùsaro           | Yūsarō               |
| 107. Of fathers.      | jùsarue          | jùsarue          | Yūsarōē              |
| 108. To fathers.      | jùsaruer         | jùsaruer         | Yūsarō ar            |
| 109. From fathers.    | jùsarugum        | jùsarugum        | Yūsarō tsum          |
| 110. A daughter.      | him ɸi           | him ɸi           | Hin ɸi               |
| 111. Of a daughter.   | him ɸie          | him ɸie          | Hin ɸiē              |
| 112. To a daughter.   | him ɸimur        | him ɸimur        | Hin ɸimur            |
| 113. From a daughter. | him ɸimogum      | him ɸimogum      | Hin ɸimugum          |
| 114. Two daughters.   | Al'tan jùgu'fane | Al'tan 'igu'fane | Altan yūgishane      |
| 115. Daughters.       | jùgu'fane        | 'igu'fane        | Yūgishane            |
| 116. Of daughters.    | jùgu'fane        | 'igu'fane        | Yūgishane            |
| 117. To daughters.    | jùgu'faneer      | 'igu'faneer      | Yūgishaneer          |
| 118. From daughters.  | jùgu'faneegum    | 'igu'faneegum    | Yūgishanemutsum      |
| 119. A good man.      | him sua sis      | him sua sis      | Hin daltas hir       |
| 120. Of a good man.   | him sua 'sise    | him sua 'sise    | Hin daltas hirē      |
| 121. To a good man.   | him sua siser    | him sua siser    | Hin daltas hirar     |
| 122. From a good man. | him sua 'sisgum  | him sua 'sisgum  | Hin daltas hirtsum   |
| 123. Two good men.    | Al'tan sua sis   | Al'tan sua sis   | Altan daltashkō hiri |

|                     |                    |                    |                      |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 124. Good men.      | sua sis            | sua sis            | Daltashkō hiri       |
| 125. Of good men.   | sua 'sise          | sua 'sise          | Daltashkō hiriē      |
| 126. To good men.   | sua siser          | sua siser          | Daltashkō hiri       |
| 127. From good men. | sua 'sisgum        | sua 'sisgum        | Daltashkō hirtsum    |
| 128. A good woman.  | sua gus            | sua gus            | Hin daltas gus       |
| 129. A bad boy.     | gu'neqishir'les    | gu'neqishir'les    | Hin ghunlikish hilas |
| 130. Good women.    | sua gushigane      | sua gushigane      | Daltas gushingane    |
| 131. A bad girl.    | gu'neqish da'sin   | gu'neqish da'sin   | Hin ghunlikish dasin |
| 132. Good.          | sua                | sua                | Daltas, shōā         |
| 133. Better.        | (m'esum) sua       | (m'esum-) sua      | But shōā             |
| 134. Best.          | (ujōngum) sua      | (ujōngum-) sua     | Oyōn tsum shōā       |
| 135. High.          | th'anum            | th'anum            | Thānum               |
| 136. Higher.        | (is'esum-) th'anum | (is'esum-) th'anum | But thānum           |
| 137. Highest.       | (ujōngum-) th'anum | (ujōngum-) th'anum | Oyōntsum thānum      |
| 138. A horse.       | han 'hagur         | han 'hagur         | Han haghur           |
| 139. A mare.        | han b'ajum         | han b'ajum         | Han bāyum            |
| 140. Horses.        | ha'gurifo          | ha'gurifo          | Haghurishō           |
| 141. Mares.         | b'ajumifo          | b'ajumifo          | Bāyumishō            |
| 142. A bull.        | han 'ghindar       | han 'ghindar       | Han har              |
| 143. A cow.         | han buja           | han buja           | Han buvā             |
| 144. Bulls.         | ghim'darifo        | ghim'darifo        | Haro                 |
| 145. Cows.          | buja               | buja               | Buvā                 |
| 146. A dog.         | han huk            | han huk            | Han huk              |

| English.            | Hunza.             | Nagari.          | L.S.I. equivalent. |
|---------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| 147. A bitch.       | gus-huk            | s̄ōqi-huk        | Han gus-huk        |
| 148. Dogs.          | hu'kai             | hu'kai           | Hukai              |
| 149. Bitches.       | gufingano hu'kai   | s̄ōqi-hu'kai     | Gushingano hukai   |
| 150. A he-goat.     | han hal'den        | han j̄eit        | Han haldin         |
| 151. A she-goat.    | han shijr          | han 'shigir      | Han sir            |
| 152. Goats.         | hal'den            | 'j̄eittaro       | Hoyas              |
| 153. A male deer.   | jattol             | jatt̄hol         | Han girl haldin    |
| 154. A female deer. | 'jatt̄oleshijr     | jatt̄hole'shigir | Han girl sir       |
| 155. Deer.          | jattol             | jatt̄hol         | Girl               |
| 156. I am.          | je ba              | je ba            | j̄ē bah            |
| 157. Thou art.      | uj ba              | um ba            | ung bah            |
| 158. He is.         | m bai              | m bai            | m̄ē bai            |
| 159. We are.        | mi b'an            | mi b'an          | Mi bān             |
| 160. You are.       | ma b'an            | ma b'an          | Mah bān            |
| 161. They are.      | u'e b'an           | u'e b'an         | Ūē bān             |
| 162. I was.         | je b'ajem          | je b'ajem        | j̄ē baiyam         |
| 163. Thou wast.     | uj bam             | um bam           | ung bam            |
| 164. He was.        | in<br>or 'me } bam | m or 'me bam     | m̄ē bam            |

|                           |                     |                     |                     |
|---------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 165. We were.             | mi bam              | mi bam              | Mi bam              |
| 166. You were.            | ma bam              | ma bam              | Mah bam             |
| 167. They were.           | u'e bam             | u'e bam             | Ūē bam              |
| 168. Be.                  | uj 'mane            | um 'mane            | Manih               |
| 169. To be.               | mən'as              | mən'as              | Manās               |
| 170. Being.               | mən'as              | mən'as              | Manumatē            |
| 171. Having been.         | 'nimian             | 'nimian             | Bam                 |
| 172. I may be.            | je amāsa            | je u'manisa         | Jē amanghā          |
| 173. I shall be.          | je amojam           | je amojam           | Je baiyam akhīr     |
| 174. I should be.         | je amonas fua bi'la | je amonas fua dr'la | Je amānas ghōā bilā |
| 175. Beat.                | d̄eli               | d̄eli               | Deli                |
| 176. To beat.             | d̄eliās or d̄elās   | d̄eliās or d̄elās   | Delias              |
| 177. Beating.             | d̄eliās or d̄elās   | d̄eliās or d̄elās   | Nidilin             |
| 178. Having beaten.       | 'nidilm             | 'nidili             | Nidilin             |
| 179. I beat.              | ja dōljaba          | ja dōljaba          | Jē deljam           |
| 180. Thou beatest.        | 'uŋe dōlja          | 'ume dōjuba         | ungē deljuā         |
| 181. He beats.            | 'me dōljai          | 'me dōjubai         | m̄ē deljai          |
| 182. We beat.             | mi dōljaban         | mi dōjaban          | Mi deljān           |
| 183. You beat.            | ma dōljan           | ma dōjuban          | Mah deljān          |
| 184. They beat.           | u'e dōljan          | u'e dōjuban         | Ūē deljān           |
| 185. I beat (Past Tense). | ja d̄elom           | ja d̄elom           | ja dellyam          |
| 186. Thou beatest.        | 'uŋe d̄eluma        | 'ume d̄eluma        | ungē delima         |
| 187. He beat.             | 'me d̄elumi         | 'me d̄elumi         | m̄ē delimi          |

| English.                | Hunza.                 | Nagari.                | L.S.I. equivalent.  |
|-------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| 188. We beat.           | mi dëlmen              | mi dëlmen              | Mi dellman          |
| 189. You beat.          | ma dëlmen              | ma dëlmen              | Mah deliman         |
| 190. They beat.         | u'e dëlmen             | u'e dëlmen             | Ūe deliman          |
| 191. I am beating.      | ja dëljaba             | ja dëljaba             | Jē deljaba          |
| 192. I was beating.     | ja dëljabajem          | ja dëljabajem          | Jē delja baiyam     |
| 193. I had beaten.      | ja dëljabajem          | ja dëljabajem          | jē deliya baiyam    |
| 194. I may beat.        | ja dëlja               | ja dëlja               | jē deljam           |
| 195. I shall beat.      | ja dëljam              | ja dëljam              | jē deliasbah        |
| 196. Thou wilt beat.    | 'uŋe dëljuma           | 'ume dëljuma           | ungē deljuma        |
| 197. He will beat.      | 'ine dëlji             | 'ine dëlji             | inē delji           |
| 198. We shall beat.     | mi dëljen              | mi dëljen              | Mi deljan           |
| 199. You will beat.     | ma dëljumən            | ma dëljumən            | Mah deljuman        |
| 200. They will beat.    | u'e dëljumən           | mi dëljumən            | Ūe deljuman         |
| 201. I should beat.     | ja dëljes ma'niš       | ja dëljes ma'niš       | jā deliasashōābilā  |
| 202. I am beaten.       | je e'deles amənəm      | je e'deles amənəm      | Ādēlam āmānam       |
| 203. I was beaten.      | je e'deles amənəb'ajəm | je e'deles amənəb'ajəm | Adēlam āmānabaiyam  |
| 204. I shall be beaten. | je e'deles aməjam      | je e'deles aməjam      | Jē adeliasashōābilā |
| 205. I go.              | je 'nicaba             | je 'nicaba             | Jē nicham           |
| 206. Thou goest.        | uŋ 'nica               | um 'nicuba             | ung nichomā         |
| 207. He goes.           | m 'nicai               | in 'nroubei            | m nichoaf           |

|  |                                       |                                      |                                     |
|--|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 208. We go.  | mi 'nicaban                           | mi 'nicaban                          | Mi nichan                           |
| 209. You go.   | ma 'nican                             | ma 'nicuban                          | Mah nichoman                        |
| 210. They go.  | u'e 'nican                            | 'ue 'nicuban                         | Ūe nichoman                         |
| 211. I went.   | je niəm                               | je niəm                              | Jē niyam                            |
| 212. Thou wentest.                                   | um 'nima                              | um 'nima                             | ung nibam                           |
| 213. He went.  | in 'nimi                              | m 'nimi                              | in nīmī                             |
| 214. We went.  | mi nimen                              | mi nimen                             | Mi niman                            |
| 215. You went.                                       | ma nimen                              | ma nimen                             | Mah nīman                           |
| 216. They went.                                      | u'e nimen                             | u'e nimen                            | Ūe nīman                            |
| 217. Go.   | nī                                    | nī                                   | Nī                                  |
| 218. Going.  | nīs                                   | nīs                                  | Nīn                                 |
| 219. Gone.   | nīm                                   | nīm                                  | Nān                                 |
| 220. What is your name?                              | 'uŋe guik bəsen bi'a                  | 'ume guik bəsen di'a                 | ungē guik bisan bilah               |
| 221. How old is this horse?                          | 'guse 'hagure b'erum pojn bi'a        | 'khuse 'hagure ba'urum dən di'a      | Gusē haghur bērum jat bi            |
| 222. How far it is from here to Kashmir?             | khōlum g'rako b'erum methan bi'a      | khōlum g'rako ba'urum methan di'a    | Khōlum Kashmirar bērum mathan bilah |
| 223. How many sons are there in your father's house? | 'uŋe gue 'hale b'erumən 'jotumuc b'an | ume gue 'hale ba'urumən jotumuc b'an | ungē gū halē bērum yū bān           |
| 224. I have walked a long way to-day.                | je khūltō buđ methan gan dëlaba       | je khūltu buđ methan gan dëlaba      | Khūltō mathan gusaram               |